/702 cont./

843 262 who herself abstains from the meat of cormorants and, even better, from birds generally wishes to prepare a roast for her family, she either leaves the bones whole or she asks someone else to break the bones in the meat of the bird. If she herself were to do it, she would have to be prepared to give birth to a crippled child. The woman must also abstain from sea urchins, but the man is not required to do this. He may not break open the calcareous shell, however, but must have someone else do it, otherwise the child would be born with a split skull (119).

119. Calderon told me this in August, 1923. As a result of searching questions I obtained the impression that this superstition is connected with the greater or lesser width of the fontanel with which the child is born.

843 When the external indications of pregnancy point to an imminent confinement -- this was unmistakable in former times when nakedness was customary -- the relatives and neighbors are more concerned in their thoughts and speech with the two persons who /703/ are soon to be presented with a child. They also discuss the expected event with the young couple. There are always several women on hand with good advice, especially for a woman who is giving birth for the first time. They encourage her with the following prospect: "Soon you will hold your own child in your arms. What happiness and what joy you will feel! -- It is indescribably gratifying for a woman to take care of her own child. -- Only then will you be a real woman, when you have a child of your own, and this will soon happen!" Old Mary repeated these words to me as the basic ideas behind such reassurances.

•844 Women who are giving birth for the first time receive special attention. They are supposed to move about constantly or at least walk a great deal and to gather wood and berries diligently, in other words, to sit as little as possible. The things that were told the girl on the occasion of her first menstruation are now repeated, and special emphasis is placed on what was said about the treatment of newborn babies. The constant encouragement, together with the restless activity, hardly gives the young woman time to become

/703 cont./

●844 anxious and perturbed. "They [the women giving birth for the first time] are not afraid of confinement!" Nelly explained very emphatically. The neighbor women probably also give the customary advice to the woman who has already had several confinements and is again expecting a child. They speak more seriously and anxiously if the woman has previously had difficulties in giving birth. Due to their worry about her life and that of the child, they stay with her until she is confined. In their everyday talk the women generally discuss whether for any one of them the momentous event was easy or difficult, whether or not it was accompanied by special symptoms. Hence they are prepared when someone has another confinement. Finally even the men discuss it among themselves when they notice that one woman or another is in an advanced state of pregnancy. On such occasions they also quite frankly say: "Now it is time for her husband to stay away from her [sexually]!"

Relatives and neighbors regard it as their duty to help gather food and care for the children of the women who are giving birth for the first time and those who must expect complications. All Indian women, without exception, are attentive and sympathetic toward the mother-to-be.

The husband and wife are instinctively confident as to the approach of the decisive hour. As a rule, the pregnant woman, usually upon the advice of her husband, has notified a neighbor in plenty of time so that she can come to help her. Indian women most often give birth in their dwelling. The husband leaves beforehand and takes with him his boys as well as other male occupants. A feeling of tact for the woman in her most difficult hour prohibits male persons from being present; a sense of modesty advises her to be alone with a woman helper (120). Small girls are sent to

120. Hyades (q):190, 375 also mentions the latter reason: "Confinement takes place most often in the open. An instinctive feeling of modesty impels the women to undergo the suffering of cold rather than to suffer the presence of men and the promiscuity of the hut at the moment of their confinement" /translated from French/. He also says: "Mr. Bridges agrees

/703 cont./ 844

that the men never assist at the confinement" /translated from French/. On the other hand, Hahn (a):805 maintains erroneously that "the husband is present, but all the other men must leave" /translated from French/.

women neighbors. Even at /704/ night everyone who is not supposed to be present leaves, provided there are other huts nearby. In case several families are occupying a single hut jointly, which was customary among the western group in winter (p. 31), the women helpers in a few minutes build near the dwelling a simple little hut, ĕkĕli, for the expectant mother, where she and her helpers await the approaching hour. It is much more convenient for her to leave alone than that the many other occupants of the hut be sent away (121). Soon after the confinement, on the second

121. Bridges once maintained erroneously: "Women never bear children in the wigwam but out of doors" /cited in English/ (VP:III, 118;1869). Later he (i):21 wrote somewhat more accurately: "Children were generally born in the open air, and this of necessity and from proper feeling, the wigwams occupied jointly by several families offered no privacy. The expectant mother with her nearest female friends withdrew" /cited in English/.

What Spegazzini (a):166 and Bove (e):158 say about this is true only under the conditions given above: "During pregnancy the woman takes some fox or wolf pelts and leaves her husband until she has given birth" /translated from Spanish/. And "when the great moment has come, they leave the hut in the company of their female friends, going to the nearest thicket where, away from the eyes of the curious, they bring the child into the world."

day at the latest, she comes back to the family hut with her newly born child. Such a little hut is regarded as a makeshift and is

/704 cont./

occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, the [illegible] tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilis" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ĩsipsin, ũsipsin, ũsipsin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ĩsipsinl'a kiłxałśka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiłxałśka." BD:105 gives ĩsipsin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxipa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

/736 cont./

As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (134). The midwife squats behind

> 134. The Indian women, as Hyades (f):168 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately the woman passes

/705 cont./

her flat hand over the entire body of the newborn /706/ child in order to clean it superficially. Continuing the stroking motion of her hand, she squeezes the blood out of the umbilical cord and cuts it with a sharp mussel shell about 12 centimeters from the belly. The two ends are tied with narrow tendons or with rush stalks. The after birth, ʔɛkɔ́luf, bits of blood, and the leather pieces soaked in blood are shoved into the open fire or the glowing ashes where they are destroyed. If there is no fire, they are buried (125). The čilir-f.

125. I did not know, as Hyades (q):191 maintains, that these articles were burned only before the advent of the missionaries and that since then they were covered with earth. The Indians told me emphatically that these things were not buried, but always destroyed in the fire. If they were buried in the earth, there is the danger that dogs would dig them out and eat them, which would make the woman forever barren.

/fine Berberis shavings/ with which the woman cleans herself is burned. Confinement is never without pain. Hahn (a):805 assures us: "The pains are generally very sharp, and the mother utters groans...exactly as among us" /translated from French/ (126).

126. Hahn (a):805 and Hyades (f):568, (q):190 describe the process of birth in detail.

We have reliable confirmation of the fact that among Fuegian women giving birth is almost without exception an easy process (127)

127. Spegazzini (a):166 maintains, along with Lovisato (b):150, that "the deliveries are easy" /translated from Italian/.

and that afterward there is no thought, so to speak, of care. "When the child comes into the world, the neighbors, if there are any, assist the mother, who almost immediately takes up her customary

1: Gusinde--302 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5268 Yahgan 5268

/706 cont./

work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:197). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hahn (a):207 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous com-

birth, and the assistants had great difficulty keeping mother and child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the women constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she had a miscarriage (p. 603). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertie, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth in her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

/797 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet, small children are either sent far away or held in check. Finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept quiet.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 438) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This ensures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as [illegible] (Myxine chilensis), [illegible] (Myxine edolis), and [illegible] (Gunnellis). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These animals must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the [illegible] /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many carnivorous and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Merops albicris, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, [illegible] (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the [illegible] /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /798/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ts," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/Gbe cont./

851 gbi has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he will stay away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly welcome each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical with them for a

862

128. Hyadow (q):376 mentions only briefly that Fongbee parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (b):11 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (e):181, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are counted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as wotaldmen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

865

• 894 The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

877

129. Holm (e):201 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (e):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Debbasa (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively the

/708 cont./

rinses off the baby's entire body. With her hand flat she rubs the parts that she has covered with water and dries them immediately with a ball of *ɛ́ŋkɛ* or with a handful of soft Sphagnum moss. She cleanses the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose with particular care. Now she lays the little one on the furred side of a particularly soft skin, usually fox or otter, on top of which has been strewn a thick layer of down. Wrapped in this, it rests until the mother, too, has washed herself.

/709/ Soon after her delivery she gets up from her bed and, alone or accompanied by the midwife, goes to the shore to wash in sea water. The mother steps into the water as far as possible and rubs herself thoroughly with her hands flat and with a ball of *ɛ́ŋkɛ* or moss. The bath in sea water is regarded as necessary and good, but not a bath in a brook. That is why women do it to this day. The water is always cold, but the Indian women do not shy away from it, and for several days the young mother bathes once or several times a day. Hyades (q):192 observed "on the same day of her delivery the mother went alone to take four baths in the sea, one each hour, the first one four hours after her delivery" /translated from French/. He was also told by the same woman "that all Fuegian women do this after their confinement" /translated from French/ (130). After each bath she dries herself

130. He describes (loc. cit.) very accurately the many details of a woman's bathing and washing. This was in winter: "The temperature of the air was then +2.7 degrees, that of the sea water +4.7 degrees; the wind was strong, north-northwest, 5 meters per second" /translated from French/.

well with *ɛ́ŋkɛ* and returns to the hut.

Often when the mother goes down to the water to bathe, she is accompanied by the so-called adopted mother, who carries the newborn baby in her arms. Instead of washing the baby in the manner described above, she dips it into the sea water (131) for a moment

131. Bove (e):188 reports the following.

/709 cont./

845 The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is
847 practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is
T32

133. The following description by Bridges (i):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

846 Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (a):807 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving
• 844 birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harbertón an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/710 cont./

to whom she had meanwhile given life without any outside help. In July, 1923, Fred Lawrence told me of another Indian woman who recently had her child as she was fetching water. She called two women to help, and they attended her there on the bank of the brook. Afterward they all went to her hut with the newborn baby (135). Finally, as we have already mentioned (p. 500), her

135. Sepgazzini (a):166 himself saw Indian women "a quarter of an hour after the event going about their work of rowing, gathering shellfish, lifting loads, as though nothing had happened" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (a):158 reports in a similar vein, and Bridges (a):183 adds: "The mother almost directly after her child's birth resumes her various duties of fishing in the canoe, gathering shell-fish, fetching water, etc." /cited in English/.

own husband must help the woman somewhat if delivery takes place in the canoe and there is no female attendant.

As on the day of confinement, there are similar rules of abstinence for both parents on the subsequent days. The rules we have just listed (p. 503) must be conscientiously observed until the child's umbilical cord drops off, even for a period of three months if a couple is having the first child. In fact, the parents may eat certain fish only after the child has entered its third year. They are permitted these and other things sooner, however, if the yékamuł, with the power peculiar to him, has removed the "evil" from them /711/ He must do this separately for each pair of parents. During these days mussels are practically the only food for father and mother (p. 503). Other travelers have neither observed the couvade nor understood it as such. Bridges (a):183 reports merely: "The mother and father of a newly born child are called yímbina. They are both careful as regards their food, thinking some kinds are hurtful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child's birth" /cited in English/(136).

136. Hahn (a):806 writes: "After the confinement,

/1173 cont./
941 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yoáilox and from Yoáilox-tárnuxípa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

773 So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Máikuxípa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kétela (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yoáilox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yoáilox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Máikuxípa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kétela was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Máikuxípa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulusénuwakípa.

/1174/ To explain the name Máikuxípa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet máiku blossom (Fig. 78).

4. The First Birth

773 •944 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yoáilox lived alone with Máikuxípa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yoáilox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

/1174 cont./

713
•844

and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

713 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying; his father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yó̲lox was extremely displeased; it was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yó̲lox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the huts, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yó̲lox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared mernly into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yó̲lox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

99. These words mean: those two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Mí̲kupi̲n died. Since the younger Yó̲lox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

976 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given,
574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *Kina'wa* initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting
[84] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs
[84] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.
[93] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with *supra* under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 Childbirth and infancy.—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked.
847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective
844 newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took
844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first 845 child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after 842 delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly 851 named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 Girls' puberty observances.—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 The čiéxaus initiation rite.—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- 846 tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather